

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2054
INFO RUDKRB/AMEMBASSY BELGRADE 2803
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMCONSUL MUNICH
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L BUCHAREST 1162

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PINR, RO

SUBJECT: PERSONNEL CHANGES IN RCP SECRETARIAT, GOVERNMENT

1. SUMMARY: CEAUSESCU'S CULT WAS RE-EMPHASIZED AGAIN IN HIS
INVESTITURE AS RSR PRESIDENT FOR FIVESEGRE YEARS AT GRAND
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SESSION MARCH 17, WHICH CULMINATED NATIONAL
ELECTIONS. TIMING OF PLENUM AND GNA TO COINCIDE WITH
HUNGARIAN PARTY CONGRESS REASSERTED GOR'S INDEPENDENCE AND
ATTENTION TO OWN AFFAIRS. ALTHOUGH CEAUSESCU'S NON-ATTENDANCE
AT BUDAPEST MAY HAVE BEEN DECIDED MUCH EARLIER, GNA FURNISHED
ADDED PRETEXT FOR SAME. FALL OF PARTY CADRES BOSS PANA AT
PLENUM IS MAJOR RCP LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT AND MAY INDICATE
CEAUSESCU HAS BEEN HAVING MORE THAN JUST ROUTINE CADRE PROBLEMS
OVER PAST SIX MONTHS. PARTY SECRETARIAT RESHUFFLE BRINGS
SEVERAL NEW CEAUSESCU LOYALISTS TO FORE, AT PANA'S EXPENSE;
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NO DRAMATIC MINISTERIAL OR STATE CHANGES OCCURRED, AS FORMER

MEMBERS OF PARTY PRESIDUM ABOLISHED YEAR AGO HUNG ON TO STATE POSTS. END SUMMARY.

2. DISMISSAL OF GHEORGHE PANA (SECRETARY FOR ORGANIZATION AND CADRES) FROM SECRETARIAT TO HEAD TRADE UNIONS WAS MAJOR PLENUM LEADERSHIP EVENT. CONSIDERED A POWERFUL, TRUSTED CEAUSESCU LIEUTENANT ONLY A YEAR AGO, PANA APPARENTLY RAN INTO PROBLEMS, IF NOT POLICY DIFFERENCES, IN CADRES MATTERS WHICH IN RETROSPECT APPEAR TO DATE FROM PRE-PARTY CONGRESS PERIOD LAST FALL. PARTY ELECTIONS IN NOVEMBER WERE DELAYED INITIALLY, PERHAPS INDICATING COMPLICATIONS, PROBABLY INCLUDING ELENA CEAUSESCU'S ROLE IN APPOINTMENTS; AND ALTHOUGH CADRE ISSUES WERE NOT CLARIFIED PUBLICLY AT THE CONGRESS, THEY MAY WELL HAVE INCLUDED DIFFERENCES OF VIEW OVER AGE-YOUTH OR TECHNOCRAT MIX IN LEADERSHIP RANKS AND EMPHASIS TO BE GIVEN TO OLDER PARTY MILITANTS, POSSIBLE RESISTANCE TO SOME CEAUSESCU-ENGINEERED DEMOTIONS, CEAUSESCU'S "CULT" OR HIS "ELECTION FOR LIFE" GAMBIT, OR PANA'S OWN FAILURE EITHER TO BE SUFFICIENTLY SUBMISSIVE TO CEAUSESCU'S VIEWS OR TO EXECUTE THEM SUCCESSFULLY. MOST OF POST-NOVEMBER DEPUTY SECTION CHIEF CHANGES AT CC ARE BELIEVED TO HAVE INVOLVED PANA'S SECTION.

3. TWO NEW PARTY SECRETARIES ARE EMIL BOBU AND IOSIF BANC. BOBU, WHO RELINQUISHES MINISTRY OF INTERIOR HELD SINCE 1973, IS FORMER LONGTIME SUCEAVA FIRST SECRETARY. HAVING BEGUN RAPID RISE IN LEADERSHIP ONLY LAST YEAR (RCP EXCO CANDIDATE MEMBER SINCE JULY 1974, FULL MEMBER IN NOVEMBER) HE IS NOW A COUNCIL OF STATE VICE-PRESIDENT AS WELL. EXCO MEMBER BANC, CEAUSESCU'S ERSTWHILE HUNTING CRONY AND A FORMER SECRETARY (1972-3), RECALLED FROM RUNNING MURES JUDET, ASSUMES CHAIRMANSHIP OF CENTRAL COUNCIL OF WORKERS' CONTROL OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ACTIVITY, ESSENTIALLY THE SECRETARIAT'S ECONOMIC SECTION. HE REPLACES ILIE VERDET, WHO REMAINS A SECRETARY. UNCLEAR YET WHETHER BOBU OR VERDET REPLACE PANA. SECRETARIAT NOW INCLUDES SEVEN (BESIDES CEAUSESCU): ANDREI, BANC, BOBU, BURTICA, DUMITRU POPESCU, UGLAR AND VERDET.

4. MIHAI DALEA LEAVES TRADE UNIONS "FOR HEALTH REASONS" TO FILL PARTY COLLEGIUM CHAIRMANSHIP VACATED BY RECENT DEATH OF CONFIDENTIAL

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CHIVU STOICA. DALEA IN FACT HAS BEEN ILL, ACCORDING TO GOOD SOURCE, AND HAS HAD AT LEAST TWO HEART ATTACKS BUT IS NO WORSE THAN AT ANY TIME IN PAST THREE YEARS AND IS PATENTLY MAKING ROOM FOR PANA.

5. PLENUM METED OUT UNUSUALLY HARSH PUNISHMENT TO VIRGIL ACTARIAN, MINISTER OF MACHINE-TOOL AND ELECTROTECHNICAL INDUSTRY, EXPELLING HIM FROM CENTRAL COMMITTEE FOR "GRAVE

DEFICIENCIES" AND VIOLATIONS OF "SOCIALIST ETHICS" PLUS "INSINCERITY BEFORE PARTY". LAST SUCH CC DISMISSAL WAS IN 1972. GOOD ROMANIAN SOURCES CLAIM THAT ACTARIAN, WHO LOSES MINISTERIAL POST AS WELL, MERELY GOT INVOLVED WITH YOUNG MISTRESS AND HIS WIFE TOLD ELENA CEAUSESCU. HE THEN EITHER LIED TO OR DEFIED PARTY INVESTIGATING COMMISSION. HOWEVER CASE'S SEVERITY MAY INDICATE SOME ECONOMIC HANKY-PANKY AS WELL.

6. SURVIVAL OF POLEXCO MEMBERS BODNARAS AND RADULESCU IS INTERESTING, IN VIEW SOVIET EMBOFF'S PREDICTION THEY WOULD RETIRE. STILL SENIOR VICE-PRESIDENT, COUNCIL OF STATE, BODNARAS REPORTEDLY CAUGHT COLD WHEN VISITING SUCEAVA IN JANUARY AND EYES WERE AFFECTED; LEFT ARM BECAME SEMI-PARALYZED, BUT, ACCORDING TO GOOD SOURCE, HE IS NOW ON MEND ALTHOUGH UNABLE TO ATTEND GNA SESSION AND PLENUM. RADULESCU, DROPPED AS CEMA REPRESENTATIVE IN DECEMBER AND REPORTEDLY HAVING BEEN SLATED FOR TEACHING JOB, REMAINS DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER (PORTFOLIO UNCLEAR). THUS POSITIONS OF MOST EX-MEMBERS OF PARTY PRESIDIU CEAUSESCU ABOLISHED YEAR AGO, THOUGHT TO HAVE TAKEN MORE INDEPENDENT STANCE THAN CEAUSESCU DESIRED, REMAINS UNCHANGED BY GNA AND PLENUM; TROFIN ACTUALLY ADDS GNA SEAT.

7. AMONG HANDFUL OF CHANGES ON GOVERNMENT SIDE, ADDED DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER, MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE ANGELO MICULESCU (WHO RETAINS HIS PORTFOLIO), ILLUSTRATES GREATER EFFORTS BEING CALLED FOR IN AGRICULTURAL FIELD.

8. COMMENT: WHILE ROMANIAN DECISION TO SEND ONLY POLEXCO MEMBER VERDET TO HUNGARIAN PARTY CONGRESS IS CONSISTENT WITH REGULAR ROMANIAN PRACTICE AND PREVIOUS EE PARTY CONGRESSES, CEAUSESCU NO DOUBT HAS FOUND IT CONVENIENT TO USE PLENUM AND GNA SESSION AS ARGUMENT FOR HIS NON-ATTENDANCE WHICH, AS DID LOWER-LEVEL RCP REPRESENTATIVE AT PRAGUE IDEOLOGICAL CONFIDENTIAL

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MEETING, UNDERSCORED ROMANIA'S PREOCCUPATION WITH ITS OWN AFFAIRS AND PERSISTENT UNWILLINGNESS TO BE "COORDINATED" BY SOVIETS. ADDITION TO RCP SECRETARIAT OF TWO MORE "SAFE" PARTY ACTIVISTS OF DEMONSTRATED LOYALTY AND LITTLE INDEPENDENCE, NARROW BUT NOT FANATICALLY SO, WITH SOME EDUCATION BUT POLITICAL NOT TECHNOCRATIC ORIENTATION, BEHOLDEN TO CEAUSESCU FOR THEIR RISE, ILLUSTRATES THE TYPE OF INDIVIDUAL TO WHOM HE HAS INCREASINGLY TURNED WHILE "ROTATING" TO PERIPHERY INDEPENDENT FIGURES SINCE 1971.

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